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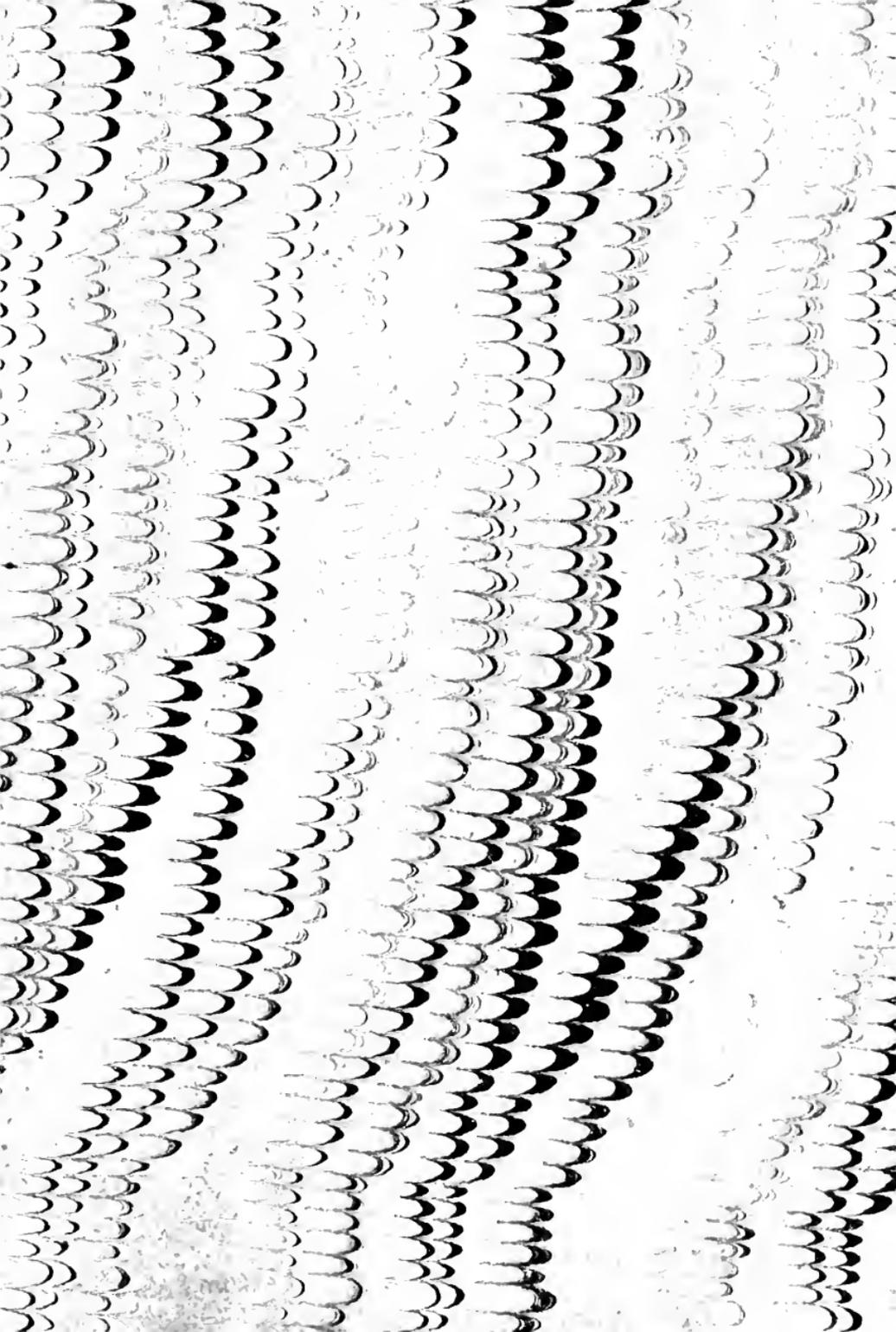
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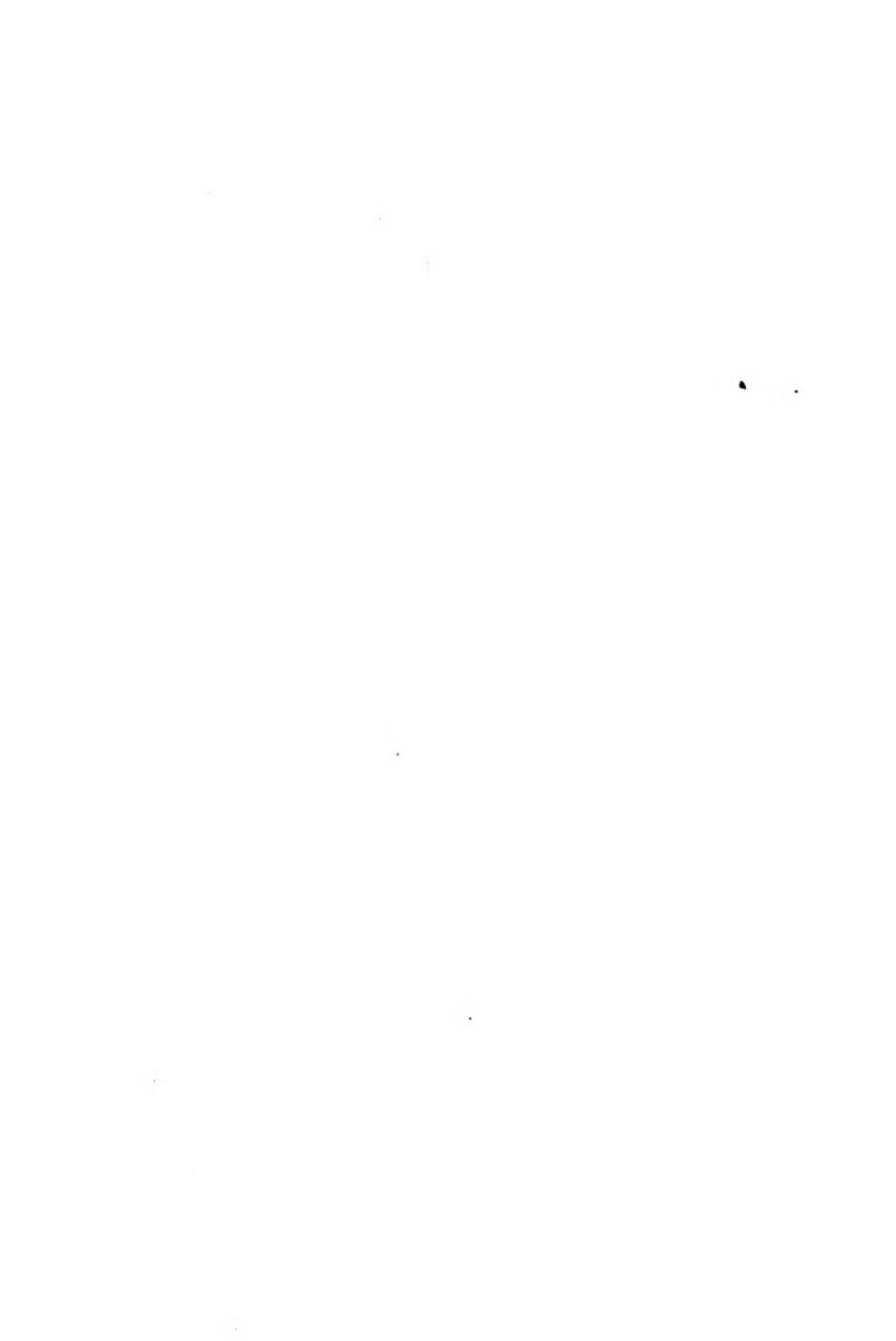
FORDE COLLECTION

Chap

11

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA







THE

ELECTION

OF

President of the United States,

CONSIDERED.

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE.

BY A CITIZEN.

BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY TRUE AND GREENE.

.....
1823.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

IT is now two years since the canvas for the next election of President of the United States commenced in the South, by the publication of a series of articles in Georgia, with the signature of "*Trio*." These papers were understood to be written by some of the zealous friends of Mr. Crawford in that state, as the scope and tendency of them was to favor his pretensions, by showing the tendency of measures and opinions ascribed to him, to promote the public interest. In the preceding winter several motions were made by some of his friends in Congress, supposed to have received his sanction, urging the necessity of "retrenchment," "radical reform," &c., which, being unaccompanied by any rational plan of improvement, but supported by long declamatory speeches alone, could only be placed to the account of steps *en avant*, to prepossess the nation in his favor; but it was not till the following session, 1821—2, that the canvas became earnest, frequent, and sometimes *violent*, especially when any other person was brought in competition with their favorite. About that time it will be well remembered, a spirit of menace and defiance so far took place of argument, that the opponents of Mr. Crawford, unwilling to commence gladiators or *duellists*, generally abstained from the contest, and left the field open to the boasts and bravadoes of his advocates.

Until this time, Mr. Adams had been the only person named or thought of, as likely to be a competitor with Mr. Crawford. The indication of public opinion in his favor, had been merely desultory, the spontaneous expressions of citizens in different parts of the United States, without the least appearance of concert or combination. An undefined sentiment almost universal in many parts of the country, that he was a man of sound talents, of great experience, of irreproachable character, of eminent political sagacity, and of unbending integrity, seemed to mark him as the man, to whom the republic might safely entrust the executive office. Nor let it be concealed that the belief was equally universal, however it originated, that Mr. Adams enjoyed the unlimited confidence and esteem not only of the present Chief Magistrate, but also of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison. In fact there is no difficulty in tracing the ground of this belief. Mr. Adams had most ably supported the prominent measures of the two last named, the Louisiana treaty not excepted; and had been by both appointed on foreign diplomattick service of the most delicate character, on the success of which depended the well-being of their country, and the popularity of the administration.

Notwithstanding the notoriety of these facts, the inactivity of the advocates for Mr. Adams, while those of Mr. Crawford seemed to challenge all opposition to their favorite, gave rise to an opinion, especially at Washington, that he would have very little support in any quarter of the union; even his native State was alleged to be vaccillating, and several prominent public men in Maine having boldly declared for Mr. Crawford, gave strong assurance that he would not be supported in

that State. Where then, it was asked, was Mr. Adams to be supported? Surely not in Virginia, the native State of Mr. Crawford, nor in any of the Southern States. The Western and Middle States gave no intimation of preference to him, and assuredly would not do it, if he was to be abandoned by those of the East.

In this state of things, a strong disposition appeared almost simultaneously, not only at Washington, but in various quarters of the country, to fix upon some other person to cope with Mr. Crawford, to whom many insuperable objections were deemed to exist. Mr. Lowndes had already been nominated in South Carolina, and the Secretary of War was zealously supported not only in his native State, but by many respectable citizens of Pennsylvania and other places. In Kentucky and several other Western States, Mr. Clay began to be proposed; and in others, especially in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana, General Jackson was brought forward with considerable eclat. In favor of each of these gentlemen, arguments adapted to their several characters were adduced; but it was perfectly manifest, that had Mr. Adams been at first supported *pari passu* with Mr. Crawford, with half the zeal manifested by the friends of the latter, and had this zeal been sustained by the many and unequivocal testimonials since given of the deep rooted esteem which he possesses in the minds of his fellow citizens, several of those gentlemen would scarcely have permitted themselves to be nominated. Having entered the lists however, though with quite different auspices from the present, they do not hitherto deem it necessary to withdraw. The lamented Lowndes scarcely assented to his nomination originally, and it cannot be doubted

that several of the others, instead of becoming instrumental in distracting the public sentiment, without any prospect of personal advantage, will magnanimously unite their efforts in support of "*the most worthy.*"

Mr. Crawford's advocates had, from the beginning, claimed for him an extraordinary love of *economy* and *retrenchment*; and in their vehement affection for the people's welfare, and for their own and their patron's popularity, had christened themselves "*radicals*;" while they charged the Government, the departments in almost every branch, the navy, and especially the *army*, with being "*prodigal*" and corrupt to the very core. The President himself was not spared; and one of the champions of *radical reform*, and of Mr. Crawford, declared on the floor of Congress, that Mr. Monroe "came in unanimously, and would go out unanimously." In these bold and unprincipled attacks, they were several times in the session vigorously resisted and signally overthrown. A large majority in the house of Representatives, however anxious to pay the national debt, and to save the resources of the country, could not be brought entirely to disband the army, though it was greatly reduced, nor to discontinue the fortifications, and lose the millions already expended upon them; the memory of the defenceless state of our coast, and of the enormous waste of life and treasure during the last war, was still too recent, to suffer such flimsy propositions to prevail.

These topics became the theme of public discussion in newspapers and elsewhere; the voice of the country was clear and audible against this wanton prostration of our military defences; and the high pretensions of Mr. Crawford's radical associates, touched by the wand

of publick opinion, dissolved in empty vapor. The same session also witnessed a bold scrutiny of some of Mr. Crawford's official conduct ; his mistaken estimates and calculations, his bungling reports, and especially his employment of members of Congress in lucrative duty, were objects of keen animadversion to his opponents, and of mortification and chagrin to his adherents.

But the most memorable event of this session in relation to the election was, the celebrated call for the *Ghent Correspondence*, supposed to have been at the instance of Mr. Russell, though subsequently disavowed by him. The object of this call was, to disparage Mr. Adams by making it believed, that he had been willing to abandon the navigation of the Mississippi to save the fisheries. In the vanity of authorship Mr. Russell prepared a "*duplicate*" letter with sundry alterations and amendations in the belief that the original was lost, by which he fondly supposed he could subserve the interest of Mr. Crawford, or Mr. Clay, as the case might be, and at the same time inflict a mortal blow on Mr. Adams. The discovery of the original, which had slept quietly and *wholly unread* upon the private file of Mr. Monroe, to whom as Secretary of State it had been *privately* addressed by the writer, contributed in no small degree to the unanimous sentence of reprobation drawn down upon the author of this insidious attack ; while the prompt and powerful strictures of Mr. Adams in his answer communicated to Congress by the President, completely refuted the charge against him, and satisfied the minds of his fellow citizens, east and west, north and south, that the peculiar interests of all had been defended with equal

vigor and sagacity by Mr. Adams and by the majority of the Commissioners at Ghent ; while the fisheries, so indispensable as the nursery of our seamen, would have been gratuitously sacrificed by imbecility or corruption. A more signal triumph could not have been desired by Mr. Adams himself ; and indeed no incident could have given his fellow citizens a better opportunity to test his talents and his patriotism.

The result of this attack, so honourable to Mr. Adams, unavoidably recalled the attention of his fellow citizens to his past services, to his long diplomattick experience under Presidents Washington and Adams ; his magnanimous support of Mr. Jefferson in all his prominent measures, uninfluenced by such jealousies, as would have warped a meaner mind against the successful rival of a father ; his faithful and successful exertions as minister at Russia, and his strenuous and disinterested services in negotiating the treaty at Ghent. To these were added his more recent labors in his present station, his letter to our minister in Spain in defence of the hero of New-Orleans, and of our Government itself, in relation to the entry into Florida, and the Seminole war ; and finally, those able negociations, which terminated in the cession of the Floridas to this country. And who, it was asked, and may be asked a thousand times, without obtaining but one answer—who can be found in these States, the President, and his illustrious predecessors only excepted, to compare with JOHN QUINCY ADAMS in those qualities, which the people will require in their future President? Not one. The other candidates are men of talents, some of them have been a short time engaged in diplomattick service, but

how very inconsiderable their experience compared with his ! Indeed for many months past, especially since the feeble attack of General Smyth, the current of public opinion has set strongly in his favor. Not only in his native State, and those in the section of country, where he is best known, but in the middle and western States, he has been spontaneously nominated by respectable conventions of free electors, and by the independent presses, which speak the sentiments of their fellow citizens.

It is curious to remark for more than a year past the vehement protestations of Mr. Crawford's advocates, against what they call "*premature electioneering*."— Their invectives are poured out copiously against those, who oppose their candidate for disturbing the public tranquillity *so early* ; and yet these discreet and modest persons were the first to begin the contest by many months, as we have already remarked. Their inconsistency is easily accounted for, and ought to be pardoned. This early investigation has awakened publick attention ; Mr Crawford's merits and demerits, and those of all the candidates are fully scanned ; Mr. Adams has had an opportunity to apply the besom of truth to a host of unfounded slanders, which had been circulated in whispers by his enemies ; the miserable pretences of radical reform are completely dissipated ; and the plots, cabals, and intrigues of the mercenary *bar-gainers for office*, wherever they are, in Maine, in New-York, in Illinois, or elsewhere, are dragged forth to publick view.

Having occupied more space, than was intended in this sketch, we hasten to the several topics, which we

proposed briefly to discuss. The first that occurs, is the expediency of a

CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS.

When the two great political parties, which so long rent asunder our country, were nearly equal, it was a measure of necessity for the Republicans in Congress on some occasions, to assemble in a convention or *caucus*, to ensure a sufficient degree of unanimity to prevent defeat by a minority. This sometimes also was the case on the eve of the election of President; yet even then it was deemed a necessary *evil*, in derogation of the rights of the people, and not to be tolerated under less pressing circumstances. In most of those cases the adversary was in the field, and even a small loss of Republican strength would have been followed by discomfiture. But now *all* the candidates are Republicans,—no Federalist has any alternative, but to throw away his vote, or to give it for some of his political opponents. Scarce a doubt exists, but that the candidates will be well apprised of their actual strength long before the day of election; and that those, who have no reasonable prospect, will make a timely declaration of withdrawal. Such conduct alone can meet the approbation of the public, and their best friends will advise it for obvious reasons.

If however it were admitted that a caucus is indispensable, it ought to be held in some other place than Washington, and by others than members of Congress. At Washington it is easy to see, that art, *intrigue*, management, "*bargaining*," and corruption, would be in full operation. Who would be the instigators, who the instruments, and who the dupes of this foul play, is immaterial to designate; one thing is certain, the

people of the United States would be defrauded of their constitutional privilege; the candidate, whose election is to be secured by such means, cannot be worthy of their suffrage. Besides since the constitution itself devolves upon the House of Representatives the election in the *last resort* it is against sound principle to *prejudge* the case; the members ought to remain *unpledged* and unbiassed, till called to give their ballots. They are the jury to try the great cause between the candidates and the people, and shall it be tolerated for a moment that they may be tampered with beforehand? That they shall meet in *secret conclave*, and agree upon their verdict a *full year* before the evidence is completed and the trial closed? This is a proceeding so unjust, that it must be obvious to every eye. How it happens that the presses which support Mr. Crawford, are so bold and urgent for a Congressional caucus, must be left to their fellow citizens to conjecture. Certain it is that Mr. Adams' advocates can see little prospect of a fair expression of the opinion of the people in such a scene. Believing as they do, that more than two thirds of the people of the United States are in his favour, they only wish such a course to be adopted, as shall give a full expression of the public will.

To prevent such a perversion of the official character of members of Congress, and such an unprincipled invasion of the right of the people to elect in the mode pointed out by the constitution, we propose that the citizens in their several districts in all the States should instruct their Representatives to *oppose a Caucus*; or that they should designate the candidate, whom they will authorize them to support. In some instances even the latter precaution might be evaded, and is

therefore less safe than a reliance on the press and the other usual means of concert and unanimity.

LOCAL, OR SECTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It is usual to reprobate in strong language the influence of mere local residence upon the approaching election; and without doubt if the total exclusion of this ingredient could be secured, it would obviate a thousand other difficulties. Since however this is not to be anticipated, it is proposed to offer a few reflections applicable to *several distinct sections* of our country.

1. **THE SOUTHERN STATES.**--These states are chiefly agricultural, and as such their great staples engross their industry and capital. So far from collision with the north and east in these objects, they invite the latter to be their factors and carriers, which naturally produces a sense of reciprocal benefit. One characteristic difference exists indeed, the slave population of the south; but this is no object of jealousy on the part of the eastern and northern states. On the contrary it is this which is most likely to perpetuate a feeling of mutual dependence. It attracts the southern population to their plantations and to the production of their staples, while it withholds them from commerce and prevents those migratory habits peculiar to the North. However desirable it may be to the benevolent and enlarged mind to eradicate slavery, the northern states are well aware, that this subject is exclusively the province of the states, where it exists, and that neither sound discretion nor the constitution permit the least interference. How then can a surmise be raised or a jealousy excited

in the south against a candidate from the opposite quarter of the union? The southern states will consider too the long period which has elapsed, since the northern have offered a candidate for the presidency. Virginia in particular who has already given four Presidents to the union could scarcely reconcile it to a liberal and magnanimous course to withhold her support from a northern candidate of acknowledged worth and pre-eminently qualified, and to throw the weight of her influence *for a fifth* in favour of a candidate, who cannot be for a moment placed in competition with his rival, merely on the ground of his birth place. A different policy is expected from that patriotick Commonwealth—many of her leading statesmen are earnest in their efforts to vindicate her reputation against the suspicion of selfishness and inordinate ambition. It needs hardly to be suggested, that to persist in supporting a native and resident of the south under such circumstances cannot fail to generate disgust, and may be a source of dissatisfaction and jealousy, which must ultimately recoil on themselves by denying them hereafter the influence they have hitherto possessed. In fact statesmen have already appeared in the south and also in the west, who might be essentially injured by an overweening effort in their adherents to propel them prematurely to the highest honours in the gift of their country.

2. **THE WESTERN STATES.**—Many of the remarks under the preceding article are applicable here. The great interests of the West are objects of regard to the Middle, and Eastern States on the score of reciprocal benefit. The staples of the valley of the Mississippi require the free navigation of that great and almost sole

outlet of their commerce, and the protection of New-Orleans and the whole Gulph of Mexico can only be secured by a respectable navy. The eastern, and middle States alone can furnish this defence, and the commerce of that noble river and its tributary streams will command alike their pride and their interest; for they are the carriers of most of their productions.

The rapid settlement and cultivation of the lands in the Western States and Territories, as it must increase their products for exportation to an immense extent, cannot fail to increase the commerce and the wealth of the Atlantic States in due proportion, and consequently will be promoted with equal zeal and activity. And this course is the more certain, because the occupations and products of the West, can never fear the competition of the North and East, nor can the latter apprehend the rivalry on the ocean of those fertile States so far from the coast, that few native citizens ever behold the tall mast, or the sails, which whiten the bosom of the mighty deep.

For several years past it has appeared to be a prevalent doctrine among members of Congress from those States, that the manufactures and productions of our country require further encouragement by increasing the duties on importations. They also contend, that the Constitution authorizes a reasonable application of the public revenue for roads, canals, and other internal improvements. A western President, they naturally suppose may favor the accomplishment of both these objects. It must be considered, however, that a President can only *recommend* a favorite measure; and where the public attention is alive to the subject, a recommendation by the Executive of the peculiar objects

of the State or section to which he belongs, might rather awaken jealousy, than conciliate favor.

It is not understood, that any of the candidates entertain *Constitutional* scruples unfavorable to either of those measures ; and not a doubt can exist, that whenever a majority of both branches of Congress shall adopt them, they will receive the sanction of the next President, whichever of the present candidates may be elevated to that dignity. True policy will suggest to our Western brethren, that it is better to advance to their purpose with the concurrence and esteem of the elder States, than to push their pretensions to the utmost verge, or to compass their views by hurried steps and extraordinary means. Let no root of bitterness spring up, to poison our mutual attachment ; the voice of the West is already strong in our councils, it is soon to be equal at least to that of the Atlantic States. Let it then be a voice, not of discord, but of grateful harmony, ever to be heard with respect and pleasure.

THE MIDDLE STATES have a most important part to act at the ensuing election. None of the candidates expect their support from local considerations. Hence it is, that we see in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New-Jersey, and Delaware, a stronger disposition to ascertain their relative merits ; and there is every reason to anticipate a result in favor of a man, whose political talents and experience are united with sound Republican principles and an irreproachable private character.

The State of NEW YORK has been for some time contemplated with an unusual degree of interest. Her physical and moral force is so considerable, that the election may not improbably depend on its exertion.

The frequent struggles of contending parties in that State of late years, have been fraught with great and almost inveterate evils. A few ambitious and intriguing “*managers*” have obtained uncontrollable sway; and rumor has for some time placed these aspiring spirits in the train of Mr. Crawford. The *chief magician* and three or four of his coadjutors, are unquestionably in his interest. Whether this hopeful cabal have already partitioned *all* the great office of the nation among them, in imitation of the Roman triumvirate; or whether they will condescend to admit into the partnership *two or three expectants in Maine*, who have promised so much, and effected so little, and a few of less note in other states, is not yet ascertained; but that Mr Crawford’s champions in the House of Representatives are not to be neglected, all will unquestionably agree.

As the people of New York are intelligent and liberal, it is matter of curiosity to learn what sort of logick these men of skill will use to allure their fellow citizens into their measures. Will they confess *the truth* in regard to *their own private views* and expectations? If they will, we ask no more. Instead of this their *talents* will be wholly employed in *concealing* these precious facts, which, if known, would consign them forever to obscurity and contempt. But will the people of New York run blindfold into their snares? Can they be the willing dupes of this little band of *aristocrats*? It is not to be believed. The State has far too great a stake in the issue, and scarcely less in vindicating her own character, depending as it inevitably must, upon the part she acts in the approaching election. If she patiently takes the bit, gives the reins

to the arch intriguer, and rushes heedlessly into the course, as he shall please to guide; her political influence must be paralysed, her character degraded. On the other hand, if she breaks forth in her strength, detects her seducers, and defies their arts; if she assumes an independent attitude, judges of the merits of the candidates with *her own eyes*, and boldly sustains *his* cause, whom her sober judgment selects; the contest will be decided,—she will have the proud satisfaction of acting with dignity and discernment, and of acquiring the esteem and confidence of this great Republic.

IN THE EASTERN STATES the *Republicans* may be considered *unanimous* in support of Mr. Adams; for except the *writer of the Ghent letter*, a few personal enemies of Mr. Adams, three or four editors of newspapers, with meagre subscription lists, and needing *patronage from a distance*, no voice has been heard for many months opposed to his election. So popular has he become, that in many places no candidate could be elected to Congress or to any important office *by Republican votes*, who was not known as a supporter of his cause. Assured of his distinguished qualifications for the office, it is deemed an ignoble desertion of the just expectations of the North and East, to be lukewarm in advancing his pretensions. Had Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, or Kentucky, such a citizen, what ardor, what zeal, what eloquence would be enlisted in his behalf; what an array of newspapers, what a phalanx of pamphlets would take the field! How would all his competitors dwindle to insignificance when compared to such a prodigy of excellence! While the phlegmaick conceptions of Eastern statesmen are

slowly advancing in the beaten path, and scarcely keeping up with publick opinion, far less giving any impetus, in favor of the distinguished citizen of their section of the union. Yet possibly it may happen, that the tardy measures of the Eastern States may incline their friends in other quarters to lend their efforts from *mere compassion*, in so clear a cause, in which all have in fact nearly an identity of interest. Something like this indeed is already visible, and the most favorable consequences are anticipated.

In the foregoing pages we have touched only incidentally upon the personal characters and merits of some of the candidates;—but it would be unpardonable to omit something further upon that point. We shall, however, be *general* in our remarks—scarcely glancing at any thing not strictly relevant—we would “nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.” Their private characters and history are by some fastidious persons deemed sacred, like the vices of kings; while others believe that our Republican Institutions and habits can only be preserved in their purity, by requiring private as well as publick virtue and integrity in those entrusted with the enactment and execution of the laws. We confess ourselves firmly attached to the latter doctrine. Yet while we maintain, that he, who *embroils his neighbors* and fellow citizens in his personal quarrels, and *kills his man in a duel*; or he, who spends his *nights at the gaming table*, or in the *revels of a brothel*, in contempt of the laws of God and man, can never be a safe depository of those laws, whose spirit and vigor are founded in publick opinion and in publick morals; we cannot be prevailed upon to make these the topicks of our present consideration. We

would abstain from such irritating themes, having ample materials of a more general character, and which are less liable to the suspicion of personal antipathy.— In this course we feel the greater confidence of not being charged with a dereliction of duty by a suppression of material facts, because it is believed, that the bearing of such disclosures upon most of the candidates for the Presidency is well understood, and that the virtuous and enlightened citizens of the United States will hesitate to relinquish the system hitherto pursued. With them *private virtue is deemed the best pledge of PUBLIC INTEGRITY.*

With these remarks we hasten to a concise delineation of some of the most prominent candidates for the office of Chief Magistrate of the nation.

1. MR. LOWNDES.—To a sound understanding, distinguished political views, great experience, and unwearied industry, he united a delicacy of feeling and a suavity of manners, which attracted universal esteem and confidence. Had he been spared to this nation it is difficult to conceive the possibility of any reasonable opposition at a future day to his elevation to the office so enthusiastically claimed for him by his native State.

2. MR. CALHOUN.—The talents of this gentleman are of a high order; his services in Congress during our late war, were eminently useful and in his present station his views are bold and comprehensive. Though he has reached the age made *indispensable* by the Constitution, he is far short of *that age*, which usage has hitherto prescribed. If he were to be elected at the age of forty, would he willingly retire at the early age of *forty-eight*; and if he would, ought the country to forego his services after that period, when most men

are only ripe for the graver duties of Executive government? Yet there would be no alternative but to do so, or to elect him to *another* and then *another* term of four years each, and then after *four successive terms*, he would be younger than any President hitherto elected. This innovation in practice might be less dangerous, than a violation of the Constitution, but ought not to be permitted without manifest necessity. Besides it is thought by many, that some of his publick acts obviously emanate from a sanguine and ardent temperament, which cannot fail to be greatly chastened and improved by longer service in stations less responsible, than that of President.

GENERAL JACKSON.—This consummate soldier is the admiration of his country. No office would *increase* his popularity, or add brilliancy to his fame. We have reason to believe, that his talents are of that comprehensive character, that he might serve his country with reputation as a diplomatist or a statesman, and we wish he may speedily be employed in such service, if agreeable to his feelings. Nor is it improbable, that the people of the United States might soon acquire the same high sense of his sagacity, discretion, and talents as a Statesman, which they so universally entertain of his military prowess.

MR. CLAY.—The publick career of this Western luminary is well known. At the Bar of his native State, he obtained a high rank as an advocate, without being equally remarkable for profound research, or extensive knowledge in his profession. In the House of Representatives his eloquence is unrivalled; and whether on the floor as a debater, or in the chair as the

presiding officer, he attracts the unfeigned admiration of his audience. In all great measures, which have been before Congress, while he was a member, his influence has been felt, and with difficulty resisted.

It is not our province to doubt his patriotism, or to impugn his motives, but we will be bold to remark, that some of the measures introduced or ardently supported by him, were characterized by rashness, and fraught with mischief to our country. While the government were earnestly engaged in a most tedious and embarrassing negotiation with Spain, with faint prospect of success, Mr. Clay we believe in 1820, introduced his resolution to acknowledge the independence of her South American provinces. A step, which could not have advanced a single iota the cause of the provinces, yet must in all probability have produced a war with Spain, drawing after it the destruction of a vast portion of our commerce, and would certainly have broken off the pending negotiations. Happily he failed in his object; a treaty was made, THE FLORIDAS ACQUIRED, and the spoliations of our commerce indemnified. We know very well the specious arguments employed in favor of the acknowledgment. As they were falling in impassioned profusion from the lips of the Orator, they almost persuaded the most discreet; but no sooner were they transferred to the pages of the newspapers, than their fallacy was manifest, their weakness glaring. Indeed a similar remark has often been made of *other* speeches of Mr. Clay; how imposing then, how *dangerous*, we may say, is that eloquence, which cannot only transport an audience, and drive the most grave and sober from the moorings of solid reasoning, but

which makes the *orator himself* the convert or dupe of his own powers !

Mr. Clay's attack upon the Seminole war and Gen. Jackson, was not more violent, than that of others, both in Congress and elsewhere ; but his conspicuous station and talents attracted unusual attention. Gen. Jackson had been justified by the Executive, and to all the opponents of the administration, as well as to many, who sincerely disapproved the acts, the propriety of which was drawn in question, this subject afforded a common point of attack.

It is a fact known to many, that Mr. Clay aspired to a place in Mr. Monroe's administration, which was assigned to another ; and though he is said to have been intended for a different place, which he declined, his opposition to the administration from that hour has been strenuous and persevering ; and it is a high honour to the House of Representatives no less than to the administration, that he was never able with so many materials of discontent and opposition, to frustrate any important measure. That Mr. Clay is popular in his native state and those adjacent, and that he has many *zealous individuals* in all the western states, wholly *devoted* to his promotion, may easily be accounted for by considering his character, and his course of policy. His zeal for the new tariff and for internal improvements is highly popular, his *premature* zeal in favour of South America was equally so. In fact the great danger is in a course so rapid, a path so luminous, and at the same time so *erratick*, that he might precipitate himself and with him the nation into those bold and perilous adventures, which might gratify the ambition

of the rash and unprincipled, while our constitution and liberty might be the sacrifice.

Mr. Clay is yet a young man; he has many red-empting qualities, and a *substantial* and *permanent change* in his political course may hereafter conciliate the confidence of the reflecting part of the community, who at present dread him, as a portentous comet, threatening destruction to our system.

MR. CRAWFORD.—It is scarcely necessary to devote much time to the peculiar situation and character of this Gentleman. His period of service in the Senate and his short mission to France have left small trace behind of able or successful exertion. His talents and his experience in the duties of a statesman require evidence which has never been adduced. When Mr. Monroe was first elected, he was his rival; yet *why* he was *proposed* or was supported in the Congressional Caucus it is difficult to comprehend; unless we ascribe to him the possession of some talisman, some secret charm, to steal away men's hearts. Before that Caucus his confidential friends declared that he *declined* the contest, yet those same friends supported him with all their strength. The friends of Mr. Monroe were lulled to security by this seeming disavowal of competition, and were near being defeated by the stratagem. Notwithstanding this ominous circumstance Mr. Monroe appointed him to the Treasury, and he has on nearly every important measure arrayed himself against the administration, of which he thus became a member. The direct and proper patronage of the Office, he holds, is very great in all parts of the United States; yet a law was passed under his auspices several years

since, by which new appointments were to be made or the occupants confirmed at his pleasure through all the ramifications of the customs. He is the professed champion of *economy*, and some small officers of the customs have been considerably curtailed of the usual stipends for the support of their families under his regulations, or laws made at his suggestion ; yet the ratio of expense in collecting the revenue is greater, than before he was at the head of the department. This has been proved in the publick newspapers.

We have already adverted to his "*radical*" *economy* in considering its effects upon our army, fortifications, and navy ; to his *employment of members of Congress in lucrative duty* contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the law ; and we have long looked, but looked in vain for some explanation of the causes of the loss of near a million dollars in his famous "*unavailable funds*." Several motions have been made in Congress, particularly by the bold and independent member from Illinois, Mr. Cook, for the express purpose of obtaining this explanation. The torrent of abuse heaped upon Mr. Cook by the champions of Mr. Crawford, could not deter him from repeating the call. The suppression of a letter, which had a strong bearing on this subject, was last winter mentioned by an anonymous writer in a newspaper ; and Congress were forthwith assailed from the same quarter with loud clamours for a "*committee of inquisition*;" the Secretary appeared personally before them with his confidential clerks, yet has he never availed himself of these favourable opportunities, or rather of these *loud calls*, to give a frank and ample exposition of his arrangements, indulgences, and negotiations with

the banks where the losses occurred. Instead of this his friends have in all such cases ardently lent their whole force to *arraigning the manner* of the call, or the *individual*, who had the courage to promote it. Intimidation, and menace were the arguments which in their judgment could alone be successful. Notwithstanding these inauspicious circumstances, and while not more than one or two states have given any tokens of supporting his pretensions to the Presidency, it is well known that he has a considerable corps of individuals, backed by several publick newspapers, dispersed through the country, who identify themselves with his election ; and who in ordinary cases might give an irrisistible impulse to publick opinion. It is unnecessary to inquire by what invisible ligament these persons are united and retained in service ; their utter discomfiture may be safely predicted. The force of publick opinion is already arrayed for their overthrow.

MR. ADAMS.—While the adversaries of Mr. Adams acknowledge his superior talents, and his great experience ; while they admit his long and eminent services, and the purity of his private life, they affect to doubt the correctness of his political principles. It is alleged, he was *once* a *Federalist*. When the constitution went into effect in the union, and while the flames of revolution in France were threatening her existence, Mr. Adams commenced the career of manhood. At that time, he wrote certain essays in the newspapers against some of the errors of the ephemeral writers of the day, and especially against those broached in a work of Thomas Paine. Most of the doctrines attacked by him are long since exploded.—Those es-

says have been recently republished by Mr. Adams' friends, and are found to contain very few positions, which the severest Republican would at this time scruple to admit. Being appointed on foreign service by the great Father of his country, he was absent from the United States, and took no concern in the domestick feuds of Mr. Adams' administration. His support of Mr. Jefferson and his successors to the present time, has been already stated; and in ransacking records, journals, newspapers, and publications of every sort, the utmost industry of his adversaries has scarcely brought to light a single word from his lips or his pen, inconsistent with the principles he at present professes—those principles emphatically denominated **REPUBLICAN**, which have guided our country through manifold dangers, to peace and glory.

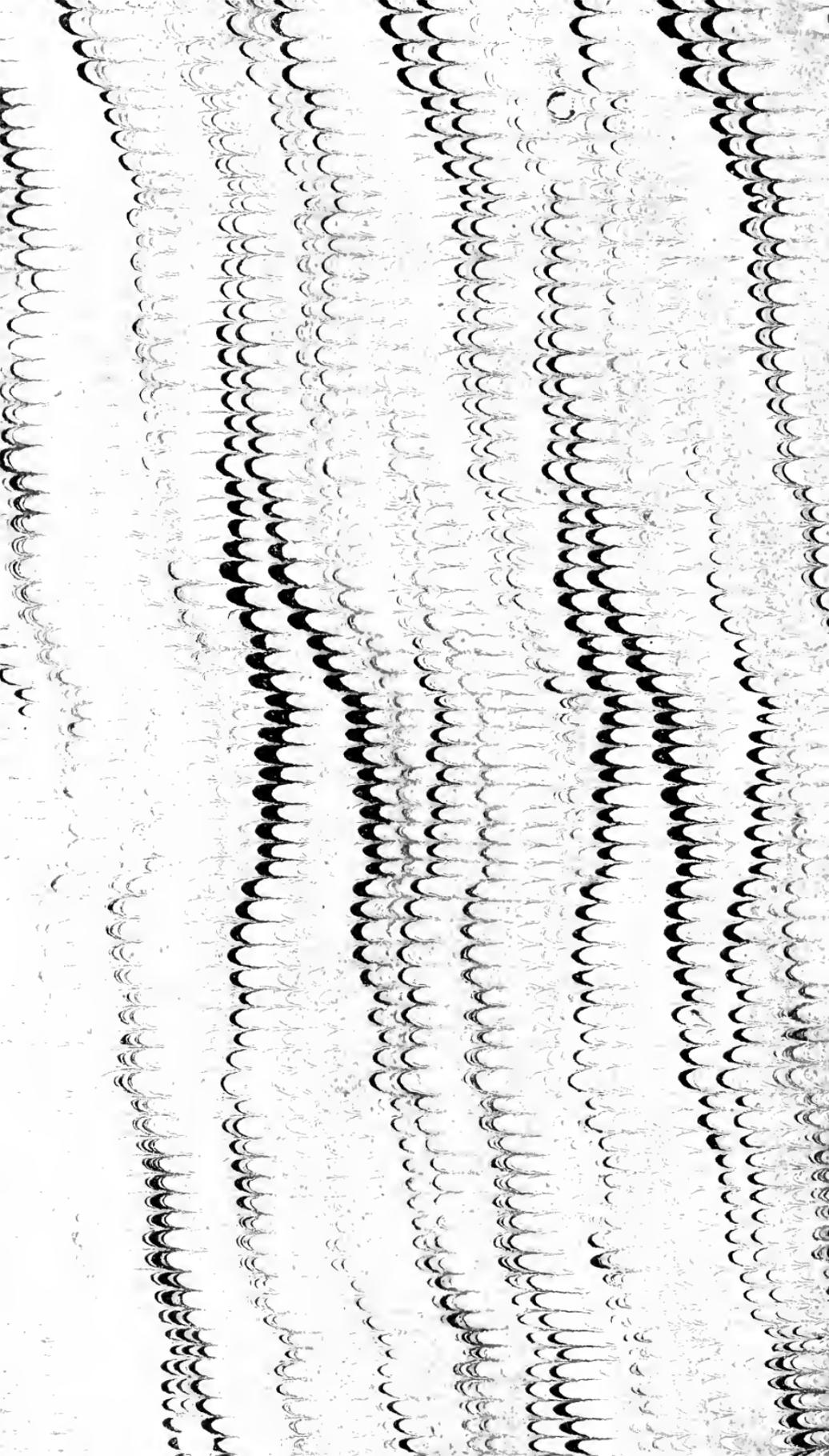
And by whom is this objection made? Even by the adherents of the man, who in 1798, approved *under his own hand*, the very measures most obnoxious to Republicans; of the man whose chief prop and *ablest champion* in the House of Representatives is, and always has been, with his whole connexion, a marked and *unwavering Federalist*; of the man who numbers in his train and among his confidential friends and zealous advocates, *more Federalists of the old school*, than all the other candidates put together! If this is a crime in others, is it less so in their favorite; or does their support of Mr. Crawford alone, entitle the Federalists to absolution and amnesty?

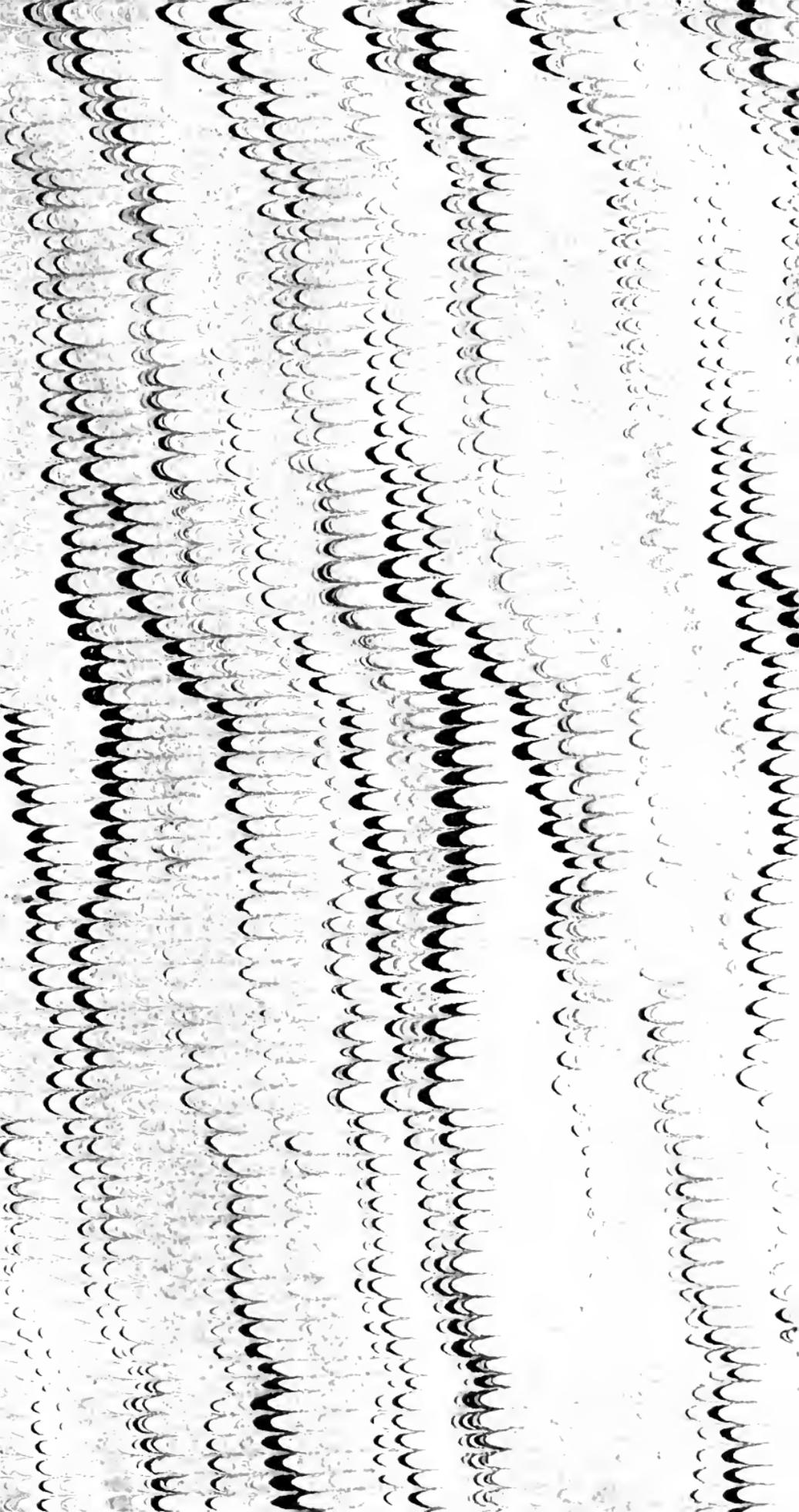
But of whatever else Mr. Adams may be accused by the virulence of his adversaries, he can never be justly charged with *intrigue*. *No man ever received from him directly or indirectly, the least encouragement*

to expect personal advantage, by promoting his election. Does this require proof? We have it in the notorious fact, that no ambitious intriguer or interested manager, has lifted a finger or uttered a syllable in his favor. All such characters through the nation are earnestly engaged in supporting others, from whom probably they have better hopes, and all with one consent oppose the election of John Quincy Adams. We know indeed that many men of high character and unsuspected integrity are favorable to his cause; and it is matter of satisfaction and pride to observe how *differently* they manifest their preference from the interested hirelings of corruption. “*Expede Herculem.*” The spontaneous and disinterested support of “good men and true,” is so *distinctive* and *characteristick* in the manner and feature, that the most careless observer can distinguish it from the other. The same observation applies to the newspapers in various parts of the Union, which adopt a corresponding course. From these considerations and many others, we augur a favourable result of the great election canvass.

We cannot close without expressing our conviction, that the pending election is fraught with consequences of universal interest to the people of the United States. It is in its leading features a contest of *talents* against *intrigue*, of *Republican simplicity* against *cunning*, of *integrity* against *corruption*. The appeal is made under God to the wisdom and virtue of a great Republic. May the decision be in accordance with truth and right, and add a proud leaf to our history, for the instruction of succeeding ages

A CITIZEN.





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